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Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

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DRAFTED BY: S/-O:LMACFARLANE
APPROVED BY: S/S-O:LMACFARLANE
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
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S E C R E T STATE 145077

NODIS
FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT BONN 10410 SENT ACTION SECSTATE 22 JUN 77

QUOTE S E C R E T BONN 10410

NODIS

PLEASE PASS SECRETARY IN PARIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, GW, UR
SUBJECT: FRG FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER ON SOVIET
ATTITUDES

1. AFTER THE END OF LAKE'S MEETING WITH GERMAN PLANNING CHIEF KINKEL THIS MORNING, GENSCHER ASKED TO SEE HIM IN ORDER TO PASS ON TO US HIS IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIETS ARE VERY UNCERTAIN ABOUT HOW TO ASSESS THE PRESIDENT. KINKEL AND POLITICAL COUNSELOR SMYSER WERE PRESENT.
2. GENSCHER SAID THIS IMPRESSION OF SOVIET UNCERTAINTY CAME THROUGH MOST CLEARLY DURING HIS MEETING WITH BREZHNEV.
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BREZHNEV AND GROMYKO ASKED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PRESIDENT, AND ASKED GENSCHER FOR HIS OWN VIEWS.

3. GENSCHER SAID THAT HE TOLD THE RUSSIANS HE THOUGHT THE PRESIDENT WAS VERY STRONG AND HAD CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC SUPPORT, AND THAT HE STRONGLY RECOMMENDED THAT BREZHNEV SHOULD TRAVEL TO WASHINGTON AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

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IN ORDER TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT BECAUSE THAT WOULD BE THE ONLY WAY HE COULD MAKE A FULL ASSESSMENT.

4. WHEN LAKE ASKED HIM QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STGIET ATTITUDE, GENSCHER SAID HE THOUGHT IT COULD BE BEST CHARACTERIZED AS UNCERTAINTY. HE SAID IT SEEMED CLEAR THE SOVIETS BELIEVED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD TAKEN THE INITIATIVE FROM THEM IN A NUMBER OF AREAS AND THAT, IN ORDER TO KNOW WHAT THEY SHOULD DO NEXT, THEY WOULD LIKE TO HAVE SOME KIND OF PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILE.

5. LAKE ASKED GENSCHER WHETHER HE THOUGHT THE SOVIETS BELIEVED THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVES WERE DIRECTED AT THEM OR AT GENERAL POSITIVE GOALS. GENSCHER SAID HE THOUGHT THE SOVIETS DEFINITELY BELIEVED THE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN WAS AIMED AT THEM. IN OTHER AREAS, SUCH AS ON AFRICAN OR NORTH/SOUTH AFFAIRS, THEY FEARED THAT HIS POLICIES COULD HAVE AN EFFECT ON THEM THOUGH THEY RECOGNIZED THE POLICIES WERE GLOBAL IN CHARACTER.

6. GENSCHER SAID THE SOVIETS MUST BE WORRIED ABOUT TRENDS GOING AGAINST THEM. THEY HAVE SUFFERED A LOSS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THOUGH BEGIN'S ELECTION MAY YET HELP THEM. IN AFRICA, THE ANGOLAN ADVENTURE MAY PROVE TO BE A "DISASTROUS MISCALCULATION." ON NORTH/SOUTH MATTERS, THEY ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY WORRIED THAT THEY MAY BE

LEFT OUT OF A VITAL AREA.

7. TO ILLUSTRATE THE LATTER POINT, GENSCHER SAID THE SOVIETS ASKED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE LONDON DECLARATION REFERENCE TO A SOVIET ROLE IN NORTH/SOUTH MATTERS. GROMYKO ASKED WHAT THIS MEANT. GENSCHER TOLD THEM THAT HE HAD NO SPECIFIC IDEAS AND HE THOUGHT IT WAS UP TO THE SOVIETS TO FIGURE OUT WHAT TO DO. HE OBSERVED PARENTHETICALLY THAT WE NEED TO FIND OUT FROM THE FRENCH WHETHER BREZHNEV HAD DISCUSSED NORTH/SOUTH ISSUES IN PARIS, SINCE BREZHNEV HAD NOT RAISED THEM WITH DE GUIRINGAUD IN MOSCOW EARLIER.

8. GENSCHER SAID HE THOUGHT THE SOVIETS WERE IN THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING A POLICY ON NORTH/SOUTH MATTERS BUT IT WAS UNCERTAIN WHERE THEY WOULD COME OUT.

9. GENSCHER SAID THAT DURING HIS TRIP TO SOUTH ASIA IT HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR TO HIM, ESPECIALLY BY MRS. BANDARANAIKE, THAT THE SOVIET ADVENTURE IN ANGOLA HAD WORRIED A LOT OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES WHO FEARED THE SOVIETS WERE DEVELOPING BELATED IMPERIALIST TENDENCIES.

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GENSCHER ADDED HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THE WESTERN EMPHASIS ON SUPPORTING INDEPENDENCE OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES RATHER THAN COMPETING FOR ZONES OF INFLUENCE WAS CORRECT.

10. GENSCHER OBSERVED THAT THIS AFFECTED THE GERMAN VIEW ON NON-PROLIFERATION, SINCE IT MEANT TO THEM THAT THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES SHOULD BE CONSULTED AND INVOLVED IN ANY NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORT.

11. TURNING TO AFRICA, GENSCHER SAID HE THOUGHT ALL OUR EFFORTS ELSEWHERE COULD BE JEOPARDIZED IF THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA DETERIORATED AND THE SOVIETS COULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THAT. LAKE EXPRESSED FULL AGREEMENT.

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GENSCHER ADDED THAT, WHILE PUBLIC OPINION IN GERMANY REMAINED DIVIDED ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN AFFAIRS, HE AND THE FRG WOULD PURSUE A FIRM POLICY BECAUSE SUCH A POLICY WAS IMPORTANT FOR (1) THE PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, (2) THE WESTERN POSITION, AND (3) EVEN THE FUTURE OF THE WHITES IN AFRICA WHO NEED TO BE PUSHED IN A DIRECTION THAT WILL SERVE THEIR OWN BEST INTERESTS.

12. GENSCHER STRESSED THAT THE WHITES SHOULD HAVE NO ILLUSION THAT THE WEST WILL HELP THEM IF THEY MAINTAIN CURRENT POLICIES AND IT COMES TO WAR. LAKE SAID THIS HAD BEEN A PRINCIPAL THRUST OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S REMARKS TO VORSTER.

13. GENSCHER THEN REITERATED HIS RECENT EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST. HE SAID HE HAS WRITTEN LETTERS TO ALLON, DAYAN, ERLICH, AND WILL WRITE TO BURG. HIS PURPOSE IS TO DEVELOP AND MAINTAIN A WIDE RANGE OF CONTACTS IN ISRAEL BELOW BEGIN. LAKE SAID THAT WE ARE TRYING AT THE SAME TIME BOTH TO PERSUADE ISRAEL TOWARD PEACE AND TO ESTABLISH THE CONFIDENCE OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN US. GENSCHER AGREED, AND SAID THAT SUCH CONFIDENCE WOULD BE NEEDED EVEN MORE AFTER AN AGREEMENT THAN BEFORE IT.

14. KINKEL LATER SAID HE SENSED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE TRYING TO MOVE TOWARDS THE FRG IN REACTION TO THEIR UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT THE US. GENSCHER HAD DISCOURAGED A NY WEDGE DRIVING. THERE WOULD BE SOME MINOR AGREEMENTS SIGNED AND A FULL COMMUNIQUE WHEN BREZHNEV VISITS BONN THIS FALL. BUT THERE WOULD BE NO PROGRESS ON THE THREE SOVIET-FRG ACCORDS NOW HELD UP OVER BERLIN.

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15. THE SOVIETS TRIED THREE TIMES TO GET GENSCHER TO AGREE TO A JOINT STATEMENT IMPLICITLY CRITICAL OF AMERICAN EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND GENSCHER REFUSED.

16. KINKEL ALSO SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD PUSHED A NEW LINE ON CSCE, SUGGESTING THAT HELSINKI LANGUAGE SHOULD BE INCORPORATED IN THE DOMESTIC LEGISLATION OF WESTERN NATIONS. GENSCHER STRONGLY RESISTED THIS. KINKEL EMPHASIZED THAT THIS SHOULD BE EXTREMELY CLOSELY HELD, SINCE GENSCHER DID NOT MENTION IT TO THE OTHER EIGHT LEST THE IDEA BE GIVEN A KIND OF BOOST.
STOESSEL

UNQUOTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

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Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
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Status: NATIVE
Subject: FRG FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER ON SOVIET ATTITUDES
TAGS: PGOV, SHUM, GE, UR, US, XA, XF, AO, (GENSCHER, HANS-DIETRICH), (CARTER, JIMMY), (BREZHNEV, LEONID)
To: WHITE HOUSE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/697e6078-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
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